1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

many grandchildren he or she has, and if the number is remembered, the sex of the several grandchildren is often vague. This state of affairs added no little to the difficulty of obtaining genealogies. The grandchild is characteristically not a real person of the grandparent's experience.

Grandparents, on the other hand, are much more real personalities to their grandchildren than the reverse. Even if a grandchild seldom sees the grandparent in the flesh, the older individual's personality is impressed upon the child through the conversation and allusions of the parents. Hence, it is natural that the grandparents are distinguished according to sex.

A further peculiarity of the system is to be noted in the provisions made permitting the marriage of a man with his sister's daughter, a type of marriage which has also been reported from the Carib Tamanak, Macusi, Galibi, Island Carib, Cumanagoto, Chayma, and Palenke, as well as the Coastal Tupi.[1] Among the Barama Caribs a man calls his sister's daughter takano ("marriageable" or cross cousin), and a woman calls her mother's brother iyao, the term which she uses for all men whom she may marry. Consistent with this usage is the fact that a woman calls the children of her mother's sister by the same terms which she uses for her own children and the fact that she calls children of maternal parallel cousins by the same term which she uses for her own grandchildren. Two cases of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter were noted in the area. At the present time it seems to be an archaic type of marriage. "Marriage with the sister's daughter," says Kirchhoff,[2] "is, aside from the jungle tribes of South America, known only among a number of mostly Dravidian tribes and castes of India and among the Tungus of East Siberia. . . . The Carib sources are clear only on one point, namely, that it is among them (as also among the Coastal Tupi) a deep-rooted system. On the other hand, the sources from the Coastal Tupi supply thorough going information among which statements concerning this custom can be found. We find, thus, two wholly different situations reported in which this form of marriage is customary. . . . In the first place, this form of

[1] Kirchoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, and Kirchoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschafts organization der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas.*

[2] Kirchhoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, p. 58. Translation by author.

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582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation." Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America. According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction, based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle generations between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent matrilocal marriage.[1] The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

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602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

[1] Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.